

Message Text

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QUOTE S E C R E T LUSAKA 0001

NODIS

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, ZA

SUBJ: RICHARD'S RHODESIA MISSION: WRAP UP WITH ZAMBIANS

REF: LUSAKA 3505

1. SUMMARY. KAUNDA WISHED RICHARD WELL IN HIS MISSION, INDICATING HE HAD NO MAJOR FAULT TO FIND WITH RICHARD'S PROPOSALS BUT WITHHOLDING EXPLICIT APPROVAL. HE REMAINED SUSPICIOUS OF ADVISORY COUNCIL AND CONTINUED TO ADVOCATE HAVING SECRET

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A PRIME MINISTER (WHICH HE SAID AFRICANS COULD PRODUCE). FRONTLINE MEETING WITH NATIONALISTS TO BE HELD IN LUSAKA JAN 8 AND 9. END SUMMARY.

2. SECOND RICHARD-KAUNDA MEETING DEC 31 TURNED OUT TO BE SHORT AND QUITE GENERAL. RICHARD TRIED TO GET SOME EXPRESSION OF VIEW FROM KAUNDA CONCERNING THE PROPOSAL WITHOUT SUCCESS. BRITISH CHARACTERIZED KAUNDA ATTITUDE AS "ENCOURAGEMENT WITHOUT EXPRESS APPROVAL." KAUNDA WISHED RICHARD WELL; DESCRIBED HIS TRIP AS "MISSION IMPOSSIBLE" BUT REFUSED TO EXPRESS A VIEW UNTIL HE HAD CONSULTED WITH HIS FRONTLINE COLLEAGUES AND THE

NATIONALISTS. TO RICHARD'S QUESTION WHETHER THEY WERE ON THE RIGHT TRACK KAUNDA REPLIED HE USED TO SAY ONCE BITTEN, TWICE SHY. NOW HE SAID THRICE BITTEN, SIX TIMES SHY. HE DID SAY THAT IF HE HAD ANY SERIOUS OBJECTIONS HE WOULD HAVE RAISED THEM AND AGAIN ASKED FOR THE PROPOSALS IN WRITTEN FORM. THE BRITISH NOTED THAT THE ZAMBIANS (CHONA) APPEARED TO HAVE ABANDONED ANY IDEA OF FULL MAJORITY RULE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THEY DID NOT RAISE THE MATTER OR SUGGEST EARLY TRANSFER OF FULL POWER. THEY SEEMED TO ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF INHIBITIONS ON POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.

3. THE ONLY RESERVATIONS MENTIONED CONCERNED THE ADVISORY COUNCIL WHICH KAUNDA AND CHONA SUGGESTED WAS ACCEPTABLE AS A CONCEPT BUT SHOULD NOT BE INSTITUTIONALIZED BY BEING INCLUDED IN THE CONSTITUTION. GRENNAN BELIEVES THAT ANYTHING SUGGESTING A TWO-TIER SYSTEM HAS BECOME ANATHEMA TO AFRICANS. MATTER OF PRIME MINISTER WAS RAISED AGAIN, WITH CHONA SUGGESTING THAT THE AFRICANS COULD INDEED SELECT ONE AND ADVISING IN ANY CASE THAT THE DECISION NOT TO TRY TO CHOOSE A CHIEF MINISTER BE LEFT TO THE NATIONALISTS TO MAKE. KAUNDA FEELS A PERIOD OF TUTELAGE IS NECESSARY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE AND REFERRED DARKLY TO THE NEED TO RESIST "OUTSIDE PRESSURES" (PRESUMABLY SOVIET) ONCE INDEPENDENCE ATTAINED. CHONA ALSO WARNED AGAINST TALKING ABOUT A "BLOCKING" VOTE IN ANY PRESENTATION TO AFRICANS. IN GENERAL THE ZAMBIANS ASKED FEW QUESTIONS, AND RICHARD AVOIDED
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GETTING INTO DETAIL ON THE MATTERS OF LAW AND ORDER AND ASSURANCES TO RHODESIANS.

4. RICHARD PLANS TO MEET MUZOREWA IN SALISBURY SATURDAY AND SITOLE IN DAR THE 7TH. HE WILL NOT SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE UNTIL THE 8TH OR 9TH IN LUSAKA. ZAMBIANS CONFIRMED THAT FRONTLINE MEETING WITH NATIONALISTS WOULD BE HELD IN LUSAKA ON JAN 8 AND 9. I ASKED RICHARD HOW THIS MIGHT AFFECT HIS CONSULTATION PLANS. HE AND GRENNAN REPLIED THAT THEY WERE WONDERING WHETHER IT MIGHT BE A GOOD IDEA TO COME TO LUSAKA AND MEET WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES WHO WOULD BE HERE, ESPECIALLY IF HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO SEE ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS I CAUTIONED THAT HE WOULD WANT TO CONSIDER WHETHER THIS MIGHT HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND RHODESIANS. HE AGREED THIS MIGHT BE THE CASE UNLESS THEY HAD IN FACT AGREED ON A PROPOSAL AND IT WERE UNDERSTOOD THAT HE WOULD RETURN TO LUSAKA TO WIN AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR IT.

5. RICHARD IS ALSO CONSIDERING VISITS TO LAGOS, NAIROBI, LUANDA, AND KINSHASA. HE SAID HE WOULD GO TO ANGOLA IF ASKED TO DO SO. KENYATTA HAS ASKED TO SEE HIM AND HE IS INCLINED TO OBLIGE. IF THE NIGERIANS HAVE ANY FEELING OF BEING LEFT OUT OR EXPRESS A DESIRE TO BE CONSULTED HE IS ALSO LIKELY TO INCLUDE LAGOS EN ROUTE HOME.

6. I ASKED RICHARD WHETHER HE HAD DEVELOPED "SPEAKING NOTE" WITH ARGUMENTS FOR USE WITH SMITH SUCH AS BRITISH HAD PROPOSED FOR OUR USE WITH SOUTH AFRICANS IN WASHINGTON. RICHARD SAID THEY HAD NOT, BUT INDICATED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY GO INTO GREATER DETAIL ON THE PROPOSALS -- INCLUDING ITEMS IN THE "ASSURANCES PAPER" AND MATTERS CONCERNING LAW AND ORDER -- THAN HE HAD DONE WITH KAUNDA. BASED ON SMITH'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS, RICHARD EXPECTS SMITH TO REACT NEGATIVELY TO THE BRITISH PROPOSALS, AT LEAST IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. RICHARD AND GRENNAN HOPE TO AVOID TOTAL REJECTION, HOWEVER, AND ARE EAGER TO SEE IF THEY CAN GET ENOUGH OUT OF THIS FIRST MEETING TO KEEP THE SECRET

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PROCESS GOING.

COMMENT: ON BALANCE, CONSULTATIONS WITH KAUNDA PROBABLY WORKED OUT ABOUT AS WELL AS COULD BE EXPECTED. IT MAY BE A GOOD THING THAT KAUNDA CONFINED HIMSELF TO WELCOMING THE BRITISH WILLINGNESS TO ASSUME GREATER RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO STATING THAT HE HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO EXPRESS TO THE IDEAS RICHARD MENTIONED TO HIM. ANY GREATER COMMITMENT COULD HAVE MADE IT HARDER FOR SUBSEQUENT CHANGES TO BE PROPOSED. IN ANY EVENT RICHARD IS ABLE TO TELL SMITH AND OTHERS THAT NO COMMITMENT WAS SOUGHT OR GIVEN ON ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL. LOW UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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